1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

614
[671]

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapsekui *	Kipkokos Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapil *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaike, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Kogoc, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

[621]
[623]

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kiruokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

[619]

[554]

The Koret

63
60
[623]

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sanalo. In 1930 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

● 681

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *kovet* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *kovet* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a dung-heap, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, *posik* (defined as among the Nandi, p. 39), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1939 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the three districts of Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo, and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, *saheyuot*, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to oil the victim on the face, breast, and belly with the fat of a she-goat. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a thong drawn tightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the African to whom hunting is at most of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest turns quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they and the Nandi call *comiet*, "affinity," with the beasts of the forest. This was described in a text, in which a Dorobo said: "The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we eat some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have water-buck horns which were blown to call people together in the forest.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution. Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men, and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa, disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when questions of inheritance are raised.

4. Crime and its Results

When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him, and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation, persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders is very real. It is a strong element in horde cohesion. Moreover, behind it is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal. Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing to the *cesowiloi*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *koret* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kirsokindet*, who passed word round the *koret* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *tiliet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *koret* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *koret* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *koret* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

681 The principle of compensation enters into the legal consequences of offences against the individual, as well as the principle that in certain cases where the injury is grave the injured party may get satisfaction by killing the offender. Of course when he does this, he has to pay for his satisfaction, but the need for satisfaction may override the knowledge that it must be paid for; and the fact that public opinion recognizes a man's right to kill one who offends against him prevents any display of public resentment when he exercises his right. On the other hand, some of the traditional penalties seem to be both excessive and impracticable, even when the need for satisfaction is taken into account. When we are told, for instance, that a man may kill a man who hunts without permission on his land, but that if he does so he must pay compensation, we may be inclined to wonder how such a rule could remain in existence. The explanation is, I believe, that the apparently excessive punishment and the consequent liability to pay compensation act as a deterrent in two directions: the offender may be restrained from trespassing and doing what to his people, from the nature of their life and environment, cannot be anything but economically bad; and the owner may be made to pause before he takes a man's life, even if the offence is considered so serious that by customary law he is entitled to get satisfaction for it. The Dorobo is no fool; he could not have survived if he was. And the African, when engaged in his own affairs, is just as capable as anyone else of restraining his actions.

5. Religion and Magic

a) Belief and Practice

791 Briefly, the basic principles of Dorobo religion are these: There is a God, who is the sun and is behind everything, but beyond the reach of men, who must therefore approach him through intermediaries, the chief of which are the spirits of the dead, which having once been people are still able to maintain contact with the living. If they are offended, catastrophe comes to the living. By means of various observances and ritual practices men manage to keep on the right side of the Unseen World and to maintain the spiritual and material welfare of both horde and individual.

796 "There is one whom we call *Asista*, and he it is who lives above; he is the sun which we see in the sky, and we know no other name for him". Thus did an old Dorobo describe what he understood when he thought of *Asista*, the word which means both "sun" and "god", yet does not imply that the Dorobo are sun-worshippers. Some say that *Arawa*, the moon, is his sister; others, that *Arawa* is his mother; and he appears to have no father. People make no offerings to *Asista* or *Arawa*, but pray to them for help:

Kipendi samak si kesakas kiilencin Asista, Asista, ipiiyec omdit, ngut Asis, ipiiyec kumik, ngut Asis, ipiiyec panyek, "When we go to the forest to hunt we say to *Asista*, '*Asis*, fill us with food', or '*Asis*, fill us with honey', or '*Asis*, fill us with meat'." Similar words are spoken to *Arawa Arawa, ipiiyec omdit*, etc.

M D 682 648 M [564] [326] /262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682] Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D [847] [839] [674] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 685 D 683 D 689

D 681 Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787 For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1, [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]